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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 4077

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-79

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE - ANALYSIS OF SOVIET DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. AT REQUEST OF SENIOR POLADS, INTERNATIONAL STAFF HAS PRODUCED PAPER (TEXT BELOW) ANALYZING DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES CIRCULATED BY SOVIETS AT FIRST STAGE OF CSCE. PAPER WAS DISCUSSED INITIALLY AT AUGUST 23 SPC MEETING, AT WHICH TIME SEVERAL PROPOSALS WERE MADE FOR CHANGES IN ORIGINAL DRAFT. AT THAT MEETING U.S REP NOTED THAT PAPER APPEARED TO BE BALANCED ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET DECLARATION WHICH SHOULD BE QUITE USEFUL FOR ALLIED DELEGATIONS DURING SECOND STAGE. THERE WAS GENERAL UNDERSTANDING IN COMMITTEE THAT PAPER WOULD NOT REPRESENT FULLY AGREED NATO POSITION BUT WOULD RATHER SERVE AS REFERENCE DOCUMENT FOR ALLIED CSCE DELEGATIONS.

2. UNDER PROCEDURE AGREED BY SPC, REVISED VERSION OF PAPER WILL BE CONSIDERED AS ACCEPTED UNLESS OBJECTIONS RECEIVED FROM DELEGATIONS BEFORE SEPTEMBER 11. WE BELIEVE THAT PAPER IS ACCEPTABLE UNDER CONDITIONS SPECIFIED IN PARA 1 ABOVE. DEPARTMENT'S REACTION WOULD BE WELCOMED.
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3. BEGIN TEXT

ANALYSIS OF SOVIET DRAFT DECLARATION ON THE FOUNDATIONS
OF EUROPEAN SECURITY AND THE PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS

BETWEEN STATES IN EUROPE

GENERAL REMARKS

1. THE SOVIET TEXT IS AN EXAMPLE OF SKILFUL DRAFTING AND PRESENTATION. IT KEEPS TO THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE HELSINKI MANDATE AS WELL AS TO THE ORDER IN WHICH THE PRINCIPLES MENTIONED IN THAT MANDATE ARE TACKLED. IT IS UNDOUBTEDLY DESIGNED TO INSPIRE CONFIDENCE.

2. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE USSR HAS MADE ANY CONCESSION. ON THE CONTRARY, IT STANDS FIRMLY BY ITS HARD AND FAST POSITIONS, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS THE QUESTION OF FRONTIERS. ITS AIM IS UNCHANGED, VIZ. THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE STATUS QUO IN PRACTICALLY EVERY AREA BUT IT IS AT THE SAME TIME SKILFULLY PAVING THE WAY FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF AN ALL-EUROPEAN SYSTEM OF SECURITY (IT HAS NEVER LOST SIGHT OF THIS TARGET). IN ADDITION, ITS MANNER OF FORMULATING A NUMBER OF THE PRINCIPLES IN FACT STRIPS THEM TO A LARGE EXTENT OF THEIR SUBSTANCE.

3. IT IS QUITE PLAIN THAT THE RUSSIANS ATTACH THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO THIS DRAFT DECLARATION WHICH THEY REGARD AS THE PRINCIPAL POLITICAL DOCUMENT TO BE SOLEMNLY ADOPTED BY THE CSCE. THIS IS BORNE OUT BY THE FACT THAT DOCUMENTS WHICH THE OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES HAVE DEPOSITED IN BASKETS II AND III REFER TO IT. LAST BUT NOT LEAST, IT MAY BE ASSUMED, FROM SOVIET TACTICS, THAT MOSCOW, AS FAR AS BASKET III IS CONCERNED, INTENDS TO SHIELD BEHIND THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS WHICH WILL HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN THE PRESENT DECLARATION(1).

4. AS REGARDS THE BINDING NATURE OF THE SOVIET PAPER, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT IS HAS NOT BEEN DRAFTED IN LEGAL FORM. ONLY ITS "SOLEMN ADOPTION" SEEMS TO BE REQUIRED. IT WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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AS WELL TO TREAD CAREFULLY HOWEVER, SINCE THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION MAY NOT BE VERY ACCURATE, PARTICULARLY WHERE TENSES ARE CONCERNED.

(1) GROMYKO, IN HIS HELSINKI SPEECH (CSCE, PHASE I), MADE HIMSELF QUITE CLEAR ON THIS POINT (SEE TEXT AT ANNEX I(A) AND ALSO I, 7 AND II, 6 BELOW).

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

TITLE

5. THE REFERENCE TO "BETWEEN STATES IN EUROPE" MAY

PERHAPS BE DESIGNED TO MINIMIZE THE PART PLAYED BY THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA(1).

PREAMBLE

PARAGRAPH 1

6. THIS LANGUAGE IS CONSISTENT WITH THE SOVIET APPROACH OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, AIMED AT FREEZING THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND ADVANCING PRINCIPLES, SUCH AS "INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS", WHILE NEGLECTING THE POST-WAR PERIOD. THE WEST, ON THE CONTRARY, HAS A SPECIAL INTEREST IN POST-WAR HISTORY, NOTABLE THE EVENTS OF 1948, 1956 AND 1968, AND IT IS WITH THESE PRINCIPLES SUCH AS "EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES" AND "RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS".

PARAGRAPH 5

7. THE RUSSIANS HAVE GONE BACK TO THEIR ORIGINAL FORMULA OF "THE DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS" DESPITE THEIR ACCEPTANCE IN THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY TALKS OF THE PHRASE "REGARDLESS OF THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS".

PARAGRAPH 6
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8. THE INCLUSION OF THE PHRASE "GRADUALLY TO OVERCOME IN THE FUTURE THE DIVISION OF THE CONTINENT INTO MILITARY AND POLITICAL GROUPINGS" IS INTENDED TO REASSURE. THE SAME IDEA WILL BE FOUND IN THE GROMYKO SPEECH REFERRED TO ABOVE (SEE ANNEX I(B)). ANOTHER POINT TO BE KEPT IN MIND IN THIS CONTEXT IS THE POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. THW WORDING OF THIS PARAGRAPH, LIKE THAT IN THE TITLE, MAY BE AIMED AT REDUCING THE ROLE OF CANADA AND THE US.

PARAGRAPH 7

9. ACCORDING TO THE UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION, THE RUSSIAN TEXT PUBLISHED IN "PRAVDA" REFERS TO "CO-OPERATION" AND NOT TO "PEACHFUL COEXISTENCE". THE THEME OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, WHICH HAD BEEN STRONGLY EMPHASIZED IN THE GROMYKO SPEECH REFERRED TO ABOVE, HAS BEEN SOFT-PEDDLED IN THE DECLARATION.

(1) THE RUSSIANS NORMALLY SPEAK OF THE PAN-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE.

PARAGRAPH 9

10. THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT IN USING THE FORMULA "PROCEEDING FROM THE OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS" INSTEAD OF THE MULTILATERAL TALKS FORMULA "IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UN" THE RUSSIANS MAY BE ALLUDING TO THE NEED TO ESTABLISH NEW PRINCIPLES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. THE WORDING COULD ALSO BE TAKEN TO IMPLY THAT THE UN CHARTER IS THE POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR A SPECIAL EUROPEAN SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

DECLARATION PROPER - SECTION I

INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH (I, 1)

11. THIS WORDING COULD BE USED IN DEFENCE OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT IS NOT MADE CLEAR THAT THE PRINCIPLES WHICH FOLLOW APPLY TO RELATIONS WITHIN SYSTMS, CONFIDENTIAL

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NOT ONLY BETWEEN SYSTEMS.

SOVEREIGN EQUALITY (I, 2)

12. THERE IS NO MENTION OF RIGHTS AS: POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, FREE CHOICE OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, RIGHT TO BELONG TO AN ALLIANCE, JUDICIAL EQUALITY.

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REFRAINING FROM FORCE (I, 3)

13. THE FORMULA HERE IS A RESTRICTIVE ONE(1). IN

PARTICULAR THERE IS NO REFERENCE TO COERCIVE MEASURES IN TIMES OF POLITICAL CRISIS ANY MORE THAN TO THE GENERALLY RECOGNIZED RULES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. THE TEXT APPEARS TO SUGGEST THAT ANY USE OF FORCE IS UNLAWFUL, AND THUS FAILS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT OR COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENCE (ARTICLE 51 OF THE UN CHARTER).

(1) IN ADDITION, THE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE IS NOT QUALIFIED, IN OTHER WORDS IT IS NOT SPECIFIED THAT FORCE MUST NOT BE USED "AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANY STATE" WHICH IS A BASIC SECTION OF THE CHARTER (ARTICLE 2, PARAGRAPH 4) AND IN THE DECLARATION ON FRIENDLY RELATIONS TO WHICH REFERENCE IS MADE FURTHER ON IN THIS TEXT AS THE "UN DECLARATION".

INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS (I, 4) AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY (I, 5)

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14. THESE TWO PARAGRAPHS, WHICH ARE COUCHED IN TERMS DIFFERING FROM THOSE USED IN THE UN DECLARATION, ARE DESIGNED TO PRESERVE THE TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO THROUGH THE TWICE-REPEATED USE OF THE TERM "EXISTING FRONTIERS". IN ADDITION, BY SPECIFICALLY RULING OUT THE TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AND BY IMPLYING THE INVIOABILITY OF EXISTING FRONTIERS (WHICH ARE MOREOVER MENTIONED IN CONNECTION WITH TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY), THE USSR IS PREPARING THE GOUND# FOR AN INTERPRETATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHICH "THE RECOGNITION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW OF THE TERRITORIAL SITUATION CREATED BY THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE" WAS "CONFIRMED MULTILATERALLY BY THE CSCE"(1). THERE IS NO REFERENCE AT ALL TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A CHANGE OF FRONTIERS BY LEAGL AND PEACEFUL MEANS.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

15. (I) (I, 6). THE WORD "JUSTICE" HAS BEEN LEFT OUT IN THE PHRASE "AS NOT TO POSE A THREAT TO PEACE, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND JUSTICE" (2), AND THIS COULD IMPLY THE EXCLUSION OF NON-MILITARY DISPUTES.
- (II) (II, 2). THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS PARAGRAPH ARE FAR-REACHING. THE SOVIET UNION OBVIOUSLY WANTS TO INCREASE ITS SCOPE FOR POLITICAL INTERFERENCE. IN THE FIRST PART OF THE TEXT, THE LISTING OF PEACEFUL MEANS IS INCOMPLETE IN RELATION TO THE UN DECLARATION (IT OMITS INVESTIGATION, CONCILIATION, JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT)(3). THE SOVIET PAPER GOES BEYOND THE CHARTER IN SPEAKING OF SETTLEMENTS "SOLELY" BY PEACEFUL MEANS. IT

IGNORES THE "STUDY OF PROPOSALS" IN THE MPT
RECOMMENDATIONS (PARAGRAPH 21).

-
- (1) IN OTHER WORDS WHAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE GDR
EXPRESSED A WISH FOR IN HELSINKI, PHASE I (SEE ANNEX II).
(2) WHICH IS THE FORMULA USED IN THE CHARTER, ARTICLE 2
PARAGRAPH 3 AND IN THE UN DECLARATION.
(3) AS WELL AS THE STIPULATION THAT "INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES SHALL
BE SETTLED ON THE BASIS OF THE SOVERIGN EQUALITY OF STATES".
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NON-INTERVENTION (I, 7)

16. FOR THE REASONS GIVEN ABOVE (PARAGRAPH 3), IN
CONNECTION WITH THE OTHER BASKETS AND IN PARTICULAR WITH
BASKET III, THIS PARAGRAPH IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT. THIS
WORDING CAN BE INTERPRETED AS SAFEGUARDING THE BREZHNEV
DOCTRINE, I.E. THE USSR MAY INTERVENE WHEN THE FOUNDATIONS OF
WARSAW PACT STATES ARE NOT RESPECTED. IN ADDITION, NON-
INTERVENTION IS AGAIN MENTIONED WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF
"CO-OPERATION"(1). NO REFERENCE IS MADE TO ANY OTHER POLITICAL,
ECONOMIC OR POSSIBLY SUBVERSIVE MEASURES OF CONSTRAINT.

HUMAN RIGHTS (I, 8)

17. WHILE THE SOVIET UNION HAS KEPT STRICTLY TO THE
LANGUAGE OF THE MPT RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SECTION II OF THE
DECLARATION, IT IS PERHAPS SIGNIFICANT THAT HERE IT REFERS
SIMPLY TO THE FREEDOM OF RELIGION RATHER THAN TO THE "FREEDOM
OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE, RELIGION OR BELIEF".

EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLE (I, 9)

18. THE SOVIET DOCUMENT RESTRICTS THESE RIGHTS TO THE
CHOICE OF SOCIAL SYSTEM AND FORM OF GOVERNMENT (WITHIN A STATE).
IT MAKES NO MENTION OF THE OBLIGATION OF STATES TO RESPECT THE
RIGHTS OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND, THEREFORE, TO REFRAIN
FROM ANY COERCIVE MEASURE WHICH COULD HAMPER THE EXERCISE OF
THIS RIGHT(2). THIS MEANS THAT THE APPLICATION OF THE RIGHT TO
SELF-DETERMINATION AS VISUALIZED IN THE EUROPEAN OPTION AND IN
THE GERMAN OPTION IS IMPLICITLY EXCLUDED. THE SOVIET FORMULA
DOES NOT INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO THE OBLIGATION TO REFRAIN FROM
DISRUPTING NATIONAL UNITY.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN STATES (I, 10)

19. EMPHASIS IS ONCE AGAIN PLACED ON NON-INTERVENTION
(SEE ABOVE I, 7 AND FOOTNOTE (1), PARAGRAPH 16)(3).

(1) AS IN THE PRAGUE DECLARATION OF 25TH JANUARY, 1972 (SOVIET
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- AND EAST EUROPEAN DOCUMENTATION NO. 24, PARAGRAPH 19(D)).
- (2) SEE IN THIS CONNECTION THE UN DECLARATION (III, 4): "EVERY
STATE HAS AN UNALIENABLE RIGHT TO CHOOSE ITS POLITICAL.
ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SYSTEM WITHOUT ANY INTER-
FERENCE WHATSOEVER FROM ANY OTHER STATE". THE SOVIET TEXT
FALLS CONSIDERABLE SHORT OF THE UN DECLARATION (V, 1).
- (3) THE SUPREMACY OF SOVEREIGNTY, WHICH IN THE SOVIET VIEW MUST
RESTRICT THE SCOPE OF THE DECISIONS RELATING TO BASKETS
III AND POSSIBLY II, IS STRESSED ONCE AGAIN.
-

FULFILMENT IN GOOD FAITH OF OBLIGATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL
LAW (I, 11)

20. THIS PARAGRAPH ONLY COVERS OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM
INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS (BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL)(1) AND MAKES
NO MENTION OF OBLIGATIONS ARISING OUT OF THE PRINCIPLES AND
GENERAL RULES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLES (I, 12)

21. THIS SECTION INCLUDES THE WORDS "EQUALLY RESERVEDLY"
(WHICH TALLIES WITH THE RUSSIAN TEXT OF THE MPT RECOMMENDATIONS)
WHILE BOTH THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH TEXTS OF THOSE
RECOMMENDATIONS USE THE WORDS "EQUALLY AND UNRESERVEDLY"
(DE MANIERE EGALE ET SANS RESERVE).

SECTION II

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS OF DISPUTES (II, 2)

22. SEE ABOVE I, 6.

NON-ASSISTANCE TO OTHER STATES (II, 3)

23. THIS TEXT COULD BE USED AS A JUSTIFICATION FOR THE
CREATION OF A PERMANENT BODY SUCH AS A "SECURITY COUNCIL FOR
EUROPE" (SEE NEXT ITEM II, 4). ITS TERMS MOREOVER ARE SO
BROAD THAT IT MIGHT BE INVOKED BY THE EAST AS GROUNDS FOR
INTERFERING IN THE POLICY OF WESTERN COUNTRIES TOWARDS NON-
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

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EXPANSION OF POLITICAL CONSULTATION (II, 4)

24. THIS SECTION PREJUDGES THE OUTCOME OF THE TALKS ON
CONTINUING MACHINERY.

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION (II, 5)

25. THE EMPHASIS IN THIS SECTION, AS IN THE PRAGUE
DECLARATION OF 25TH JANUARY, 1972, IS ON RELATIONS OF MUTUAL
BENEFIT TO ALL PARTIES. IT IS MOREOVER SEEN AS ESTABLISHING
THE RIGHT FOR THE EAST TO HAVE ACCESS TO WESTERN TECHNOLOGY.

(1) THIS NOTION APPEARS AGAIN IN THE ESCAPE CLAUSE (SEE BELOW,
III, 2).

CULTURAL CO-OPERATION (II, 6)

26. THIS ITEM IS TACKLED IN A RESTRICTIVE MANNER INASMUCH
AS THE PURPOSE OF THE CONTACTS BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS AND
PERSONS(1) AND THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION IS TO GIVE BODY
TO THE IDEA OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH DUE REGARD "TO TE
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GENUINE VALUES OF CULTURE AND ART". THIS CRITERION IS EXTREMELY
AMBIGUOUS AND SUBJECT TO INTERPRETATIONS WHICH COULD BE QUITE
ARBITRARY. THE USSR PROVIDES ITSELF IN THIS WAY WITH THE MEANS
OF INTERPRETING AS IT WISHES ANY LIBERALIZING MEASURE AGREED
WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF BASKET III. THE SECTION ALSO BRINGS IN
IDEAS WHICH THE WEST HAD REJECTED AT THE MPT.

CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES (II, 8)

27. THIS TEXT STATES THAT THEIR AIM IS TO STRENGTHEN STABILITY AND CONFIDENCE IN EUROPE. IT OMITTS THE AIM STATED IN THE MPT RECOMMENDATIONS OF INCREASING SECURITY, AS WELL AS THE REFERENCE TO PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS. IT ALSO APPEARS TO ADD A GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITATION ("IN SPECIFIED AREAS") NOT IMPLIED IN THE RECOMMENDATIONS. IT MAY ALSO BE OF SIGNIFICANCE THAT IN THE FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS THE ENGLISH TEXT SAYS "SUCH AS" AND THEN INSTANCES NOTIFICATION OF MANOEUVRES ETC., WHILE THE RUSSIAN TEXT SAYS "HAVING IN MIND" I.E. THE ENGLISH IS INDICATIVE OF SELECTION; THE RUSSIAN SUGGESTS THAT THE MEASURES INSTANCED EXHAUST THE LIST.

SECTION III

SUPPORT FOR THE UN (III, 1)

28. THIS EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR THE UN IS MEANINGLESS. IT DOES NOT AMOUNT TO THE ESSENTIAL SAVING CLAUSE AFFIRMING THE PRIMACY OF THE UN CHARTER.

ESCAPE CLAUSE (III, 2)

29. THE REFERENCE TO "OPERATIVE BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS" SEEMS DESIGNED TO RULE OUT THE MENTION OF "IN CONFORMITY WITH THE CHARTER" WHICH WOULD BE VERY USEFUL TO US IN THE CONTEXT OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE(2).

(1) ATTENTION IS DRAWN TO THE ORDER OF PRIORITY.
(2) IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND, HOWEVER, THAT THE WORDS "IN CONFORMITY WITH THE UN CHARTER" APPEARS IN THE CLAUSE DEALING WITH THE "FULFILLMENT IN GOOD FAITH OF OBLIGATIONS" (SEE
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ABOVE I, 11).

NOTIFICATION TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL (III, 3)

30. THIS NOTIFICATION SHOULD BE RESISTED SINCE IT WOULD GREATLY EXAGGERATE THE CONTRIBUTION WHICH THE DECLARATION COULD MAKE TO WORLD SECURITY.

CONCLUSIONS

31. AS NOW WORDED, THE SOVIET TEXT WHICH AT FIRST SIGHT SEEMS (MISLEADINGLY) CONCILIATORY AND MODERATE, COULD WELL BE REGARDED AS REASONABLE BY SOME OF THE UNCOMMITTED COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN THE CSCE. MOSCOW COULD BE SEEKING TO REDUCE

DISCUSSIONS TO A MINIMUM AND TO OBTAIN THE RAPID APPROVAL OF THE DOCUMENT. THIS MAKES IT ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT FOR US TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO PUT TOGETHER A WESTERN TEXT.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH BY MR. GROMYKO, THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER, IN HELSINKI - CSCE PHASE I - JULY 1973

(A) "IT IS OBVIOUS THAT CULTURAL CO-OPERATION, CONTACTS AND EXCHANGES OF INFORMATION SHOULD BE EFFECTED WITH FULL OBSERVANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES DESIGNED TO GOVERN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE CONFERENCE. THIS MEANS, ABOVE ALL, RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-INTERVENTION. NON-OBSERVANCE OF THESE PRINCIPLES WOULD JUSTIFIABLY BE SEEN AS AN ATTEMPT TO INTERFERE IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHERS. WE MUST AVOID THIS AND DO AWAY WITH THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE "COLD WAR". THIS MEANS STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE LAWS, CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS OF EACH OTHER. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE GUIDED BY THIS CONCEPT."

(B) "WHAT IS OUR VISION OF THE EUROPE OF THE FUTURE? FIRST AND FOREMOST, A EUROPE OF PEACE, A CONTINENT FROM WHICH AGGRESSION HAS BEEN BANISHED FOREVER FROM THE LIVES OF THE PEOPLE. OUR AIM IS THAT CONFIDENCE AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING SHOULD PERMIT
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THE GRADUAL OVERCOMING OF THE DIVISION OF THE CONTINENT INTO POLITICO-MILITARY GROUPINGS. RELATIONS BETWEEN ALL EUROPEAN STATES SHOULD BECOME RELATIONS OF PEACEFUL AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL CO-OPERATION."

EXTRACT FROM THE SPEECH BY MR. WINZER, THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE GDR, IN HELSINKI - CSCE PHASE I - JULY 1973

"IN ADOPTING THIS POSITION OF PRINCIPLE, THE GDR CONSIDERS IT IS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY THAT THE TREATIES BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST STATES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY SHOULD EXPRESSLY REAFFIRM THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS NOW AND IN THE FUTURE, AND THAT THE PARTIES TO THE TREATIES SHOULD UNRESERVEDLY PLEDGE THEMSELVES TO RESPECT THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF STATES. THE GDR WOULD WELCOME THE MULTILATERAL CONFIRMATION BY THIS CONFERENCE OF THE RECOGNITION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW OF THE TERRITORIAL SITUATION CREATED BY THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND OF POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE. IT WOULD PARTICULARLY WELCOME SUCH CONFIRMATION AS THE SETTLEMENT OF POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN EUROPE WOULD MAKE IT EASIER TO SEEK SOLUTIONS TO OTHER PROBLEMS WHICH ARE IMPORTANT FOR PEACE AND SECURITY, INCLUDING THOSE OF MILITARY DETENTE."
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